

4:Grajdanzev--80-82

S-4

(no date) 1942

Formosans-1- 3

116, 427, 466, 675, 177.42

Japan

636.42

"The tenancy contract in Taiwan, as it was a few years ago, had the following features:

(1) (1) It was a short-term contract—for the most part for one year only and cases were

1. For a more detailed description see K. Takahashi Gendai Taiwan Keizairon, pp. 293-303.

frequent where the landlords broke the contract before its expiry. It is possible for them to do this because the tenants are more numerous, there is stiff competition among them, and they cling to the plots which they are able to secure. There have [81] been cases when the term was six years and even ten years (opening of new land or reclaimed land), but these were exceptional. (2) It was almost exclusively an oral contract and in case of conflict the landlords were more successful than the tenants in securing their own interpretation of it. (3) The landlord usually received security from the tenant in money or in kind, amounting to from forty to sixty per cent of the rent, deposited with the owner at the time the contract is made. No interest is paid on this amount. This deposit represents a heavy additional burden on the tenants, who, as a rule, have no cash and are compelled to borrow the money at high interest rates while they themselves do not receive any interest on it. In many cases this results in sub-tenancy—a rich farmer renting land and sub-letting it to poor tenants.

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(no date) 1942

Formosans-2

Japan

116, 427, 466, 675, 177.42

636.42

Through the efforts of the government these general features were somewhat changed. The government policy was as follows: (1) the term of tenancy should be five to six years or more; (2) if, after the expiry of the contract, the contracting parties do not denounce the contract within six months, it must be regarded as automatically renewed; (3) in time of crop failure the rent is to be reduced by mutual agreement; (4) in case of arrears (without a justifiable reason) or misuse of soil, the contract may be voided by the landowner; (5) no transfer of land by the tenant can be made without agreement and approval by the landowner; (6) changes in the form of the plot and other changes influencing the productive capacity of the land must be approved by the landowner; (7) if improvements are approved by the landowner, he must bear the expenses of the improvements fully or in part; (8) no contract may be declared void before expiry without sufficient reasons; otherwise compensation must be paid; (9) disputes are to be settled by special arbitration committees.

It is unwise to attach too much importance to these government efforts, however good their purpose may be. True, in 1935 sixty-eight per cent of all area leased was leased under written contracts, while in 1938-39 the percentage had risen to 76.6 per cent. Arbitration committees are established, as well [82] as societies of landowners and tenants, the purpose of which is to bring social peace to the relations between the landowners and tenants as well as to effect a change in the ideology of the farmers. Money

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Formosans-3

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636.42

grants from the government-general are made to aid these societies and officials appointed to direct them. But all this does not touch the core of the problem. The problem of tenancy is not to secure the tenant in his lease for one year, or how to distribute the costs of improvements, as this touches chiefly the misuse of power by the landlord. With a secure contract for three or five years, the tenant must still pay the rent, and he has no assurance that the lease will be extended after expiry of the contract. The policy states that in case of crop failure the rent should be reduced by mutual agreement, but in Taiwan it used to be customary for the farmer to pay the rent whether the crop failed or not, and there is no guarantee that this custom will not form the basis of the 'mutual agreement'. In this agreement there is no equality between the opposing parties. The same should be said about the arbitration committees--everything depends upon the degree of influence of the landowners in these committees."

15: U. S. Navy--31 [5]
116, 466, 656, 177.46
636.46

(no date) 1944

Formosans
Japanese

"Through direct employment and through indirect control of the large agricultural and industrial companies, the Japanese government is the largest single employer of Formosan labor. Control and supervision has been strict since the Japanese occupation of the island, but the progressive invocation of the National Mobilization laws after the outbreak of the China 'Incident' has made government control of labor complete. Although there is evidence of chronic discontent among laborers on Taiwan since the 'liberal' days of the 1920's, government policy has been careful to prevent the development of any leadership. The usefulness of Taiwan as a base for military operations and as a link in the new imperial system depends upon the smooth functioning of transportation and communication and (to a growing degree) of industrial activity. All this in turn depends upon the strict control and obedient service of Formosan-Chinese labor, both skilled and unskilled. The Japanese fear any labor agitation, and realize that they are extremely vulnerable to slow-down tactics, if these should be initiated."

15: U.S. Navy--31 [9]
116, 466, 651, 177.65
636.65

(no date) 1944

Formosans
Japanese

"The hoko system of mutual responsibility within households and local communities is under closest police supervision and control. Through it the government can demand and receive contributions both of hours of labor and of taxes in kind. Close check can be kept also on all labor unrest and agitation."

15: U.S. Navy--32 [3]

(no date) 1944

Formosans

116, 466, 467, 656, 177.46

Japanese

636.46

"In 1931 the upsurge of reactionary power at Tokyo made possible the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident and the stage was set for the war program. Labor leadership, labor organizations and union programs came to an end much more quickly in Taiwan than in Japan Proper. By the end of 1931 everything which smacked of opposition had been suppressed. The employers in the strategic industries, transportation and communications are official or semi-official bodies. Hence there can be no dispute over labor questions."

15: U.S. Navy--32 [6]
116, 745, 466, 177.46
636.46

(no date) 1944

Formosans
Japanese

"Hours of labor average about ten per day, including Sundays, although most employees get two days off each month. There are no labor laws or workmen's compensation laws, as there are in Japan. Excepting in cases of Government laborers, as in the Monopoly Bureau or the Government Railways, there are no provisions for bonuses or overtime payment, but most Japanese employers follow the Government example and pay for overtime work. The Government provides free housing for certain classes of Government employees, and retires long-time employees on small pensions. Private industry makes no such provisions, except sometimes where the employer is a wealthy family bearing a paternal relationship toward workmen long in service. The Government also has a scheme for compulsory social insurance payments. No such provisions exist in private industry. If a laborer is injured on the job, it is customary for the employer to pay hospital expenses. If he is killed or totally disabled, the employer makes a money contribution, called 'consolation money' to the injured man or to his family. Thirty days' notice is usual in discharging an employee; in lieu of notice, thirty days' wages are generally paid."

15: U.S. Navy--32 -33
116, 462, 466, 883

(no date) 1944

Formosans

"The percentage of women among the total number of [33] employed persons in various industries is indicated by the following figures:

Table 25: Percentage of Industrial Workers who are Women.

Textile industry	73.4	Chemicals	26.4
Metals	10.6	Lumber	5.8
Machinery	1.2	Foodstuffs	34.8
Ceramics	18.2	Printing	12.9
'Others'	68.2		

The textile industry is negligible in Taiwan. If it is excluded, women numbered approximately 30.6 percent of the people employed in Taiwan in 1936. Women and children labor in the mines and are used to provide motive power for wagons, push-car lines and construction gangs. The wages for women are usually about half those for men. Human life as well as labor is cheap, and the employers in Taiwan are notoriously careless of safety and sanitary conditions in industry."

15: U.S. Navy--33
116, 466, 177.46
636.46

(no date) 1944

Formosans
Japanese

"Under the National Mobilization laws which have been put into effect the conscription of labor by the Japanese has been complete. Even before this, the forced contribution of labor, directly or indirectly, was managed in various ways. Work on semi-public undertakings was called a patriotic duty. Schools, young people's associations, and local ward organizations were expected to contribute certain hours of labor or, in lieu of them, special donations. If an individual Formosan is absent from any announced 'voluntary' project, complete explanation must be made to the authorities concerned. Types of semi-public undertaking include road-building, flood prevention, irrigation works, construction and care of shrines, land clearance, airfield construction, and tree-planting. The figures which follow indicate labor contributions over a one-year period:

Table 26: Enforced contributions of labor.

	No. of Laborers	Hours of Labor
School groups (primary and middle schools, Native and Japanese)	629,510	3,101,869
Young Men's Organizations	221,574	1,567,248
Adults in various organizations	399,708	2,265,361

Men of the upper class, especially those with advanced education and experience outside of the island, live in constant fear of impressment and transportation to the front for Army labor service."

- 466 Formerly the employee was an apprentice with a status of a house servant, but now the relationship is regulated by written contracts.

4. Male and Female Servants

566 Up to the early years of Japanese rule a type of true servitude existed in Formosa. These servants were not slaves, but were bought and sold for money, and were very low in social status. Male servants disappeared earlier in time, but female servants remained until a much later date. It is interesting to note that, the civil status of female servants in Formosa was somewhat different from their status on the mainland. On the mainland their servitude was life-long, but in Taiwan they were bought by contract, and emancipated when the servant or her family could provide money to buy her back. In the case of marriage, her intended husband had to pay money to buy her freedom. Her status somewhat resembled the indentured servant of colonial North America. The frontier spirit, the newness of social institutions, and the scarcity of women seem to be the cause of this contrast between the mainland and Taiwan.

In 1917, the higher court of justices in Taipei invalidated the purchase system of female servants as detrimental to public welfare and morals. The following year the commissioner of police, fortified by this

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• 466 Long Working Hours. Free China Labor League reports that, in June 1951, workers in 45 sample factories and mines generally worked 10 hours a day.²³ However, because of the generally low income of the wage earners many people do supplemental work in addition to their regular employment. In 1952, laborers worked on their regular jobs 53 hours a week with an average of 14 hours of overtime; besides, they worked 23 additional hours on various other types of employment.²⁴

23. Free China Labor League, op. cit., p. 10. Although the percentage of factories and mines containing different lengths of working hours may not apply to all the factories and mines on the island, it nevertheless gives some indication of the existing conditions.

24. A. F. Raper and others, op. cit., p. 139. For the surveyed household heads only.

446 HOURS OF WORK PER DAY IN 45 FACTORIES
AND MINES, JUNE 1951*

Daily Working hours	8	9	10	12
Percentage of factories and mines	13	4	16	12
Percentage of factories and mines	29	8.8	35.6	26.6

* Free China Labor League, op. cit., p. 10.

The league also reported that the average number of working days per month for all industries in Formosa was 28.3 for male laborers and 25.8 for female laborers. For male workers, those in the ceramic industry worked the longest hours, 29.6 days a month, while those in the food industry worked only 20.5 days.

445 Wage Scale. Aside from miners, textile workers in Formosa are apparently the highest paid of all the factory workers, followed by workers in the printing and machinery industries. The monthly income of workers in selected industries is shown below:

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467 from large factories and mines. Special unions include railroad workers, postal workers, and salt miners; each of these has a federation at the provincial level in addition to the locals.

The Fishermen's Association and Farmers' Association are independent of the federation systems. The former has been instrumental in co-operating with the provincial government and United States aid agencies in making low-interest loans to fishermen and loans of fishing boats, rationing of cloth and rice, establishing medical stations, improving fish markets, etc.

VI. LABOR RELATIONS

• 466 Paternalism: Paternalism, in the Oriental sense of the word, concedes full authority to the head of the family and exacts complete loyalty and obedience from family members. In Formosa, the owner or manager of a plant is referred to as "Lao Pan" -- meaning, the owner. Lao Pan is also the term used for "master" or "ship's master," and it carries the connotation of complete domination not only over the use of fixed property but also over the person or persons employed on the premises. The lives and working conditions of the workers are largely, if not completely, dependent upon the whims of the master.

• 466 Some employers have strongly opposed unionization because in their opinion their own beneficence outweighs any advantages that may be offered by union membership. Any grievances which the workers may have must be handled with extreme care and diplomacy on the part of the workers, or else be interpreted by the employer as a display of disrespect or disloyalty.

467 Labor Welfare Measures. Each of the city general labor unions and hsien federations has a "Labor Welfare Committee" with the function of improving living conditions and mitigating the hardship imposed by the low wages. For instance, there is a "Labor Clinic" in the Keelung City General Labor Union and the Hsien Federations of Labor of Taichung, Hsinchu, Yilan, Chiayi, and Taoyuan.²⁷ Also, union stores which sell daily necessities to the members at a lower price are very popular. Various enterprises and employers also undertake to provide recreation and medical facilities, daily necessities at a lower price, mutual aid funds, etc. As an example, a government-owned cigarette manufacturing factory has a clinic of its own, and provides welfare facilities such as a day nursery, a laundry shop, cold drink stands, a barber shop, public baths, etc.

The income of the trade unions, derived mainly from membership fees, has been limited

²⁷ Ibid.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

THE SETTING

greater labor force, and this absorbed the men who had formerly worked in Lukang.

The expanded area of land under cultivation increased the food supply and generally improved the standard of living. In addition, the Japanese introduced some Western public health ideas and new means for controlling disease. Apparently, these factors are closely related to the extensive population growth which then began to take place in Taiwan. The Japanese also improved the primitive communication systems of the area. A major program of electrification and improvement of rail and bus lines was instituted throughout the heavily populated areas of the island.

The material influence of the Japanese occupation and administration of Taiwan was enormous. Not only did Japan create in Taiwan an important element of its colonial empire but in so doing it indirectly began to produce important economic changes which had implications for the development of the rural areas and the island itself. While agriculture provided the major portion of Taiwan's exports to the home country, new, imported commodities also became readily available to the Taiwanese villager at low prices; many inexpensive canned foods became common in the village household. In spite of these changes, the world depression had apparently little effect in the Hsin Hsing area. In fact, few villagers were even aware that there was a world depression in 1929 and in the 1930's, which may be due to the almost total lack of industry in rural Taiwan or in Taiwan generally at that time.

The advent of the Japanese brought a higher standard of living for the Taiwanese people, but the improvements were offset by the war with China in 1937 and, more notably, by the entrance of the United States into the war in 1941. Japan had to muster all its own resources and those of its colonies, and good times soon turned into hard times for the Taiwanese farmer. At first, village men were lured off the land to work at high pay on Japanese construction projects, and others were conscripted to work in Japanese army labor gangs in both Taiwan and in Southeast Asia. Often families were left with only the women, children, and old men to work the land. The supply of artificial fertilizer which had been so important in developing intensive rice cultivation was almost completely cut off. The little food that could be produced under these difficult conditions was usually confiscated by the Japanese authorities to supplement the food supplies in Japan, and villagers were frequently reduced to a diet consisting mostly of sweet potatoes. The gratitude they had felt for the prewar accomplishments of the Japanese was offset by the severity of Japanese rule during the hard war years.

The defeat of the Japanese and the coming of the Chinese National-

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T Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

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words in Japanese, such as expressions to be used when entering the predominantly Japanese-manned police stations and other official places. Some uneducated men, however, learned a modicum of Japanese when they served in the Japanese army labor corps during the war period.

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Under the Japanese the teaching of the Chinese written language as well as the traditional Chinese classical literature in the schools was illegal. However, village men tell about a Chinese school "secretly" conducted in a temple in Lukang even through the late 1930's. There children and teenagers were taught to read and write Chinese and to study the Chinese classics. Only a very limited number of people from Hsin Hsing and the neighboring villages attended such schools, and there were few who attended the Chinese school who did not attend the Japanese primary schools as well.

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In the Hsin Hsing area, then, except for the few Taiwanese who managed to attend secondary schools or colleges or who were laborers during the war, the number of persons able to read and speak Japanese (or read Chinese) was small. Grajdanzev, mostly on the basis of Japanese sources, noted that "after 1937 five and one half million Chinese (in Taiwan) could not read a newspaper in their own language, though most of them do not know Japanese" (1942:170). The effectiveness of the Japanese educational system for much of the population of the rural area has perhaps been exaggerated. Although the Japanese school system was greatly expanded between 1937 and 1945, it appears that it did not have time to develop any depth in its effect on the peasant.

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Under the Nationalist government's theoretically "compulsory" education, almost all students and former students of the present school system can now speak some Mandarin, which is the only language used in the school after the first or second year. Some of the younger middle-aged men have developed a functional knowledge of simple Mandarin as a result of recent work contacts in Taipei or service in the Chinese army.

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The language situation in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding rural area is as follows (for 1958): Very young children speak only Taiwanese (Min-nan) up through the first few years of school. Children in higher grades and young people up to the age of about twenty-six speak Mandarin with varying degrees of fluency in addition to their native Taiwanese. Their fluency depends upon the amount of schooling they have had, how long they have been out of school, and the amount of contact they have had with the language at work or in other special situations after leaving school.

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Some men and a few women between twenty-four and forty-five speak some Japanese in addition to Taiwanese. The men learned it

of 303,400 metric tons) and that of industrial salt to 67,000 metric tons (as compared to peak production of 465,000 metric tons). The production of chemical fertilizer (33,800 metric tons before the war) had come to a halt. Tea processing plants and pineapple packing plants stood deserted. In short, by V-J Day the ravages of war, materials shortages, and lack of maintenance had almost paralyzed the industry of Taiwan. The railroads had worn out no less than 1400 steel bridges which had to be classified as unsafe to use.

After V-J Day, rehabilitation work on the railroads was given a high priority. Eroded steel bridge spans were removed, worn-out sleepers and rails were replaced, road beds were reconditioned. Today, passenger traffic exceeds the peak load of the prewar period; freight traffic, after tripling itself in one year, is approaching prewar peak.

Rehabilitation of the power system made great demands on the ingenuity of the available Chinese engineers. Little foreign exchange was available with which to buy needed replacements, so that the repairs had to be accomplished by reworking obsolete and broken equipment scattered about over the island. Through tedious patching and repairing operations, and the acquisition of a few spare parts that could not be improved, they tripled generating capacity in two years. By 1951, capacity had reached an all time high of 217,000 KW. Today coal (1,451,000 metric tons in 1952); cement (389,000 tons in 1951), chemical fertilizers (more than three times prewar production), petroleum, cotton yarn (three times Japanese peak production) and cotton piece goods (four times Japanese peak production) have all surpassed prewar production figures.

The sugar industry, which, as in the past, is Taiwan's most important source of foreign exchange, has done less well by comparison with prewar standards, but not, or at least not primarily, because rehabilitation operations failed to be carried out. In 1945, 27 of 36 plants stood seriously damaged. By 1948, all the factories and plantation railways had been completely rehabilitated, and by 1950 sugar production had climbed back to 630,000 metric tons. The Taiwan Sugar Corporation's capacity is now over one million tons a year. In 1949-50, however, sugar dropped in price on the world market, and farmers turned from sugar to rice. In 1951-52, the world market price began to rise, and sugar production is gradually returning to its previous high levels.

Paper and pulp mills, machinery shops, shipbuilding, and aluminum works have, likewise, been gradually restored. Another worthwhile project has been the development of a fishery industry which has improved the Taiwanese diet (including that of the Nationalist Army) without great expenditures. American economic aid has played an important role in the rehabilitation and development of all these industries.

A labor insurance policy was put into effect on 1 March 1950. Its object is described as "safeguarding the livelihood of the workers and promoting harmonious relations between labor and management so as to ensure social security and high production." According to the Labor Insurance Regulations, all workers employed in public and private factories, mines, salt fields, communications, and public utilities in Taiwan shall be insured. It is compulsory labor insurance on a limited scale. The benefits are insurance against injury, death, maternity, disability, and old age. It also has provision for free medical clinics. This new system of social insurance was put into effect with the cooperation of the Chinese Federation of Labor, the Free China Labor League, and the Provincial General Labor Union. Their delegates also sit as members of the legislature of the provincial government.

The government has also carried out a tax reform and overhauled the tax collection system. The reform program went into effect on 1 January 1951. The number of distinct taxes was reduced from 20 to 11, leaving the income, inheritance, stamp, commodity, land, business, slaughter-house, entertainment and amusement, vehicle license, and household taxes.